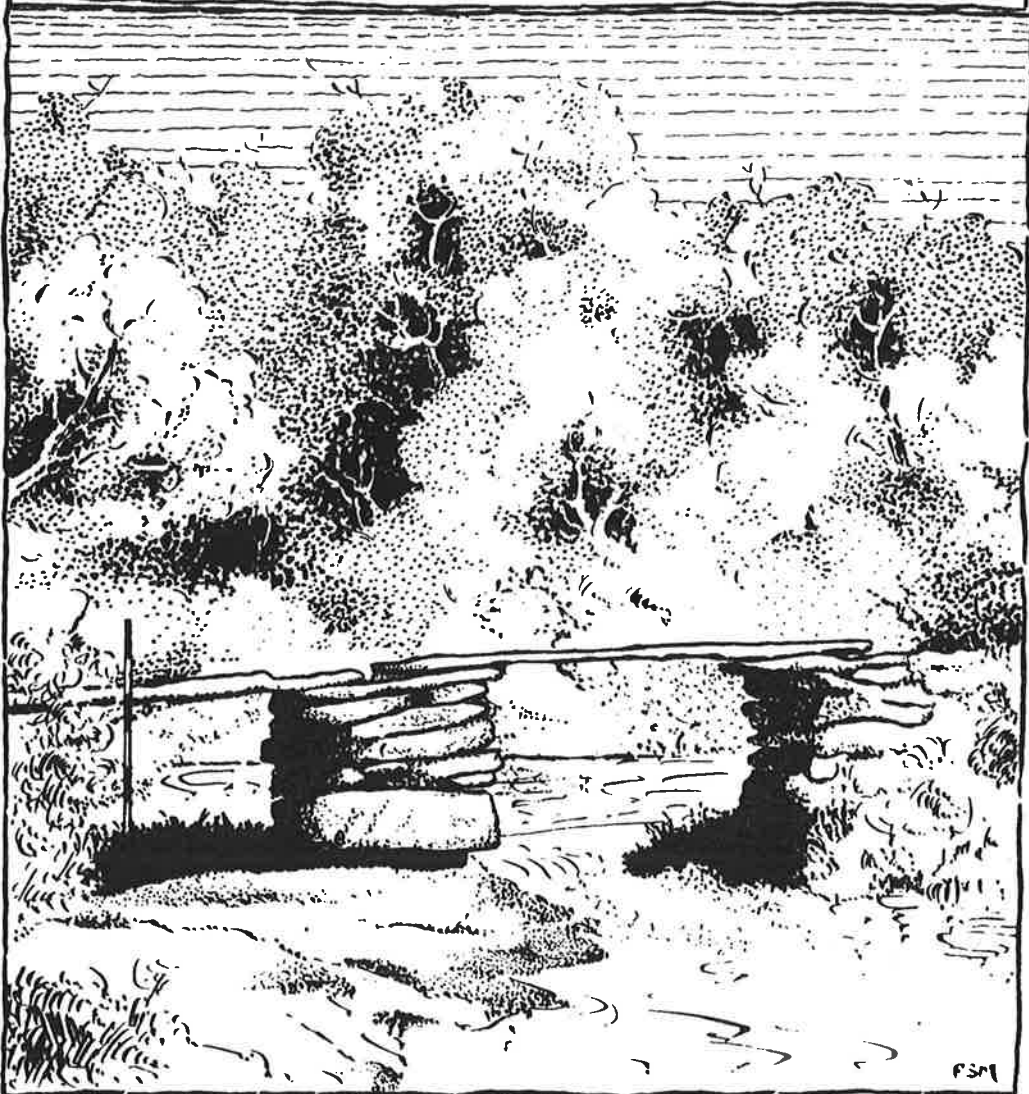


Clapper Bridge
at Achnamara ∴



The KIST ∴ 17

T H E K I S T

The Magazine of
The Natural History & Antiquarian Society
of Mid-Argyll

President: Miss Campbell of Kilberry, FSA. FSAScot.
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JOINT HON. SECRETARIES

Air Vice-Marshal Gordon Young, CBE. Middle Hill, Ardrishaig
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Kilchoan Lodge, Poltalloch, by Lochgilphead

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Free to Members

EARLY ROADS IN MID-ARGYLL

F.S.Mackenna

No doubt many share with the writer an affectionate interest in deserted roads and in tracing their course on old maps or on the ground. Most seem to have been laid out with little regard to such details as gradient, and it is little wonder that the oldest amongst us have so many dramatic tales to tell of battles with early motor cars when they balked at some of the more spectacular hills we asked them to surmount. Readers of Kist will recall some of 'Old Kilberry's' motoring experiences.

Practically our only sources of factual information regarding old roads are surviving Minutes of the Commissioners of Supply, who were the country's road authority until 1775, when their responsibilities were vested in the Road Trustees. The Minutes go back in their entirety to 1744, and the period preceding that has to be deduced from various sources as the original volume seems to have been lost in a fire at Inveraray Courthouse in 1844. Mr Murdo MacDonald, the Archivist, to whom I am deeply indebted for much friendly and ready help with a number of problems, is in the process of effecting a reconstruction of the missing years and already it is evident that the period will not be the complete blank we formerly believed it to be.

A 1669 Act bade Justices "to conveen at the heid burgh of the shyre upon the first Tuisday of May yeerly for ordering of highways, bridges and ferries to set down a particular list of the hie ways, bridges and ferries within their bounds, and to divide the paroches of the saids bounds as they lie most euest to the severall highways to be repaired, and as they may have the most equall burden and to appoint such of their number or others oversiers of such parts and portions of the saids high ways as are most convenient and nearest to their ordinary residence, and to nominat such of their number as they sie fit to survey and give an accompt of the hie ways, bridges and ferries unto the rest which persons or any one of them to whom the particular portions of the saids high ways shall be comitted are heirby authorised, and strictly required to call and conveen all tennents and coatters and their servants by publict intimation at the paroch kirks upon Sabbath day immediately after the first sermon,

or any other way that they shall think fit, to have in readiness horses, carts, sleds, spades, shovels, picks, mattocks and such other instruments as shall be required."

In the Minutes of 11th May 1710 we find the following entries referring to our own area:-

"That Auchenbreck's bailly, Ederline & Knockbuy and other heritors there mend the way betwixt Kilmichell in Glaserie & the water of Leckan upon the east syd of the moor.

"That Kirnan, Barmollich, Stroneskir, cause help the way betwixt Kilmichell and the miln of Ederlin and take the people of Kilmichell to help them.

"That all the tenants from the watter of Bravallich to Lecknamolt and Ederlin's haill other tenants upon Lochfynesyd and two Brainchalls help and mend the way betwixt the foord and the water of Leckan, and Ederlin is to oversee and is to have a duzin of men from Kilmartin, a duzin from (?) and Inverliver's men upon Lochow, Crag in tairve's 20 merkland & Auchinellan.

"That the Duke of Argyll's Chamberlain cause help and mend both the roads betwixt the water of Leckan and Inveraray and appoint Dugald Clerk of Braleckan overseer to see it well done.

"That the said Chamberlain & Inistrynich cause help the way betwixt Inveraray and Cladich and appoint Dun. McArthur brother to Inistrynich overseer.

"That he lykwise cause help the way betwixt Inveraray and Drumlie and appoint Elrignore overseer and the tenants of Stronshire and Blairowne to help them.

"That Inistrynich with Sonichan and other lands there help the way betwixt Cladich and Portsonachan. That Inistrynich & Sonichan oversee the same.

"That all the lairds betwixt Lochgilshead and Tarbet inclusive repair the way betwixt Lochgilshead and Tarbet inclusive with the help of Skipnidge & Kildusklan overseers."

By July 1713 there is apparently much cause for dissatisfaction: "...finding by reports made to them at this meeting....their Act of 26th May last anent repairing the highways has not in a great many places, particularly in the Divisions of Kintyre and Lorn, mett with the compliance expected"

By June 1730, although matters had shown some improvement, there was still cause for complaint; it was reported

of several parishes that no work had been carried out. It was resolved to proceed against the defaulting surveyors and overseers with fines. By 14th June 1733 the fines collected amounted to £104. The details relating to our own area are given here:-

	<u>IMPOSED</u>	<u>PAID</u>	<u>ARREARS</u>
William Campbell of Dunans			
-Desperat (i.e. Irreclaimable)	£5.0.0	-	5.0.0
Robert Campbell of Kentrae	5.0.0	-	5.0.0
Dugald Campbell of Ederline	5.0.0	-	5.0.0
Duncan Campbell of Lochhead	1.5.0	1.5.0	-
Donald Campbell his Broyr			
-Desperat	1.5.0	-	1.5.0
Archd. Campbell of Ardcregnish	1.5.0	1.5.0	-
Angus McLachlan of Innischonnill	10.0	-	10.0
Alexr. Campbell of Sondachan	10.0	10.0	-
John Campbell of Ballivolan	10.0	10.0	-
Dugald Campbell of Kilberry	1.5.0	-	1.5.0
-Dead			

Coming to details of the roads, the instructions issued in 1730 may be quoted:-

"1mo. That the High roads be made Nine foot broad at least whether the same be throw corn lands or otherwise and as well upon the sides of hills as flat grounds.

"2do. That in moss or soft ground, where it is deep the breadth of the road be covered with branches of trees or heather for three foot thick tyed in Bundles or Sheaves, then with stone for two foot and a half, raising it all alongst the middle, and casting a Ditch on each side of the road to carry off the water, and the road in such places be at least twelve foot broad.

"3do. That the Surveyor and overseers make proper channels for carrying the water of the high roads.

"4do. Where the road passes through corn land that the tenants take particular care to throw no stones or earth of the land upon the road."

In 1737 a report from Kilmelford gives details of the carrying out of these rules there. In July work began at 6 o'clock in the morning and ended between 6 and 7 at night; in October the times were 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. Forty-eight men were at work and "all wrought very dilligently and made the road very good."

From 1744 onwards we have many references in the Commissioners' Minutes to roads and bridges, and to some of the problems and vexations encountered. The activities of Charles Edward Stuart are referred to on 9th July 1746 in excusing the surveyors from sending in their normal reports "...in regard to the publick confusions for near a year bygone."

Until 1757 the road work had been done almost entirely in person by the liable parties. This, coupled with the free labour often due by cottars to tenants, and tenants to proprietors, often caused much hardship, particularly when it was exacted at some distance from home. Such cases were exemplified when Colonsay men had to work in North Knapdale (see below), or Gighamen in South Knapdale. This meant great distress and expense to those concerned, and often it was found that these large alien workforces, faced with bad weather and lacking effectual supervision, left things worse than before they started.

By May 1756 the Commissioners had decided, on their Committees' recommendation, to tighten up the regulations governing the method of repairing the roads effectively. It was ordained that "it shall be in the option of each Tennent, Cottar or Labouring Man Either to work six days on the high roads or to make payment of one shilling sterling in lieu thereof provided the same be paid before the time appointed for working" Refusal of work or payment could be punished by a fine of £5 stg.

This new arrangement was well received and in 1757 the sum raised in Mid-Argyll was £53.3.0 In 1760 the rule was altered and surveyors were authorised to accept one shilling stg. instead of a six-day period of work or eight pence stg. and four days' work.

By 1764 the option was taken out of the hands of the tenants etc and vested solely in the surveyor, which seems a somewhat retrograde decision so far as the workers were concerned. The price of conversion was raised to 1/6, and it had become 2/- in 1768.

It proved difficult to retain adequate supervision of surveyors and overseers, who were selected more often than not for their local importance rather than for their

capabilities. Eventually in 1754, owing to lack of attendance to receive reports from surveyors and overseers, (the Commissioners themselves being at fault here), particular individuals were appointed, under pain of a fine of £5, to attend the meetings. The lists for the districts in our area are interesting:-

For the District of Inveraray. The Provost of Inveraray, John Campbell of Clychomby, Mr Robert Campbell of Asknish, Alexr. Duncanson of Keils, The Chamberlain of Argyll, Duncan Campbell of Sonachan and Duncan Campbell of Strachurr.

For the District of Argyll. Archd. Campbell of Knockbuy, James Campbell of Rudill, Neil Campbell of Duntroon, James Campbell of Craignish, Archibald Campbell of Kenmore, Robert Campbell of Dounie and Patrick Campbell yr of Knap.

This arrangement proved unsatisfactory and by 1773 various expedients were tried, but with the passing of an Act in 1775 the district began at last to function successfully as a local government unit, ending only with the transfer of the Road Trustees' duty to the County Council in 1890.

Actual roads were not of course the only responsibilities of the Commissioners, for there were bridges to be built, and quays to be provided where ways of passage required ferries. These two activities called for some expert labour, and payment was a problem. In 1732 and again in 1733, some £320 had been raised by a stent on the shire, and this was allocated to the building of six stone bridges (on the "Waters of Goyle, Echybegg, Leckan, Airy above Carlundon, Lochy and Derkbane"), and in addition to effecting improvements to the landing places at St Catherines, Dunoon and Otter.

Increasingly there were demands for bridges to replace dangerous fords, and from 1744 to 1775 over twenty bridges were built by contract for sums ranging from £20 to £80.

It will no doubt be asked what part the celebrated Military Roads of that century played in our district. These special roads were routed in the main through the less populated areas, but in many instances their construction was of benefit to the general population, in particular to those interested in droving. For example the

road from Inveraray to Dunbarton, minuted in 1745, would entail bridging the Leven in the neighbourhood of Bonhill, which would facilitate the passage of cattle on drove to the Low Country. At this meeting a committee was set up consisting of Stonefield, Inveraw, Knockbuy and Airs, with the object of encouraging the Duke of Argyll to take an interest in the matter of this road. The Commissioners gave orders at the same time that horses and blankets were to be furnished for His Majesty's forces working on the road by the parishes of Glenaray, Strachur and Lochgoilhead. In 1748 people on the Ardkinglas estate, from Dunderave to St Catherine's were to attend for four days with horses, for gravelling the road and bridges. The following year the people of Glenaray were likewise required to give four days' service with horses in connection with gravelling the Bridge of Garron, and the next year stones had to be removed and 'scivers' cleared on the road from Ardkinglas to Garron Bridge.

Funds secured by the Act of 1775, which regulated the sums due from various sources such as the commuting for tax instead of labour, bridge-money etc, were allocated in a manner which gave preference to certain main routes, one of which traversed our area; this was the Post Road from Inveraray to Campbeltown, down the west side of Kintyre. These important roads had always received special consideration from the Commissioners, but although in the main satisfactory as to condition, those portions which traversed difficult country or which had been carelessly constructed, soon fell prey to any relaxation of attention or to any undue cause of wear. In 1735 a complaint was lodged that the road from East to West Loch Tarbert was damaged by the practice of dragging boats across the isthmus in order to avoid the long and hazardous voyage round the Mull. The Post Road presented its greatest challenge to the authorities between Ardrishaig and Tarbert where, south of Stronachullin, it moved well inland to enter its Sliabhgaoil section. This became so unsatisfactory that it was finally decided to force a new route along the loch side. This formidable undertaking was allocated one-tenth of the whole county rate, but, strange-sounding to modern ears, its cost worked out at considerably less than had been expected.

All these major roads were laid out to a width of 20 feet, that is, twice the width or more of the 1732 roads. Some indeed were even wider; for example the Old Statistical Account for Glassary gives the width of the great line in the parish as "twenty-four feet exclusive of bank or ditch." And in 1776 it was agreed by the Kintyre Trustees, regarding the reconstruction of the road down the east side of the peninsula, that it "shall be finished in a workmanlike manner, and not in a paultry slovenly manner, and that it shall be Twenty feet broad of a lasting permanent road."

In some instances local proprietors offered to be at the expense of building or improving roads, being willing to remain out of pocket for a year or two until funds became available. Colonel Charles Campbell of Barbreck, who had extensive property in Kintyre, took on such a task in 1769 when he offered to complete a section of road from Ballochageichan to Campbeltown, the repayment to take 12 years. It may be recalled by readers of Kist 11 that 'Old Kilberry' mentions the new road which Skipness had built along the shore from Claonaig; at first this venture was declared unfit to be taken over as a public road, but later, after adjustments, it was accepted and the old road was closed.

The foregoing pages have given enough information to enable one to have some idea of the steps which led to the setting up of a competent road authority for our area; the second, and perhaps the more immediately interesting, portion will be following, by means of actual year-by-year extracts from the Commissioners' Minutes, the steps which led to new building of roads and bridges and slips, as well as the improving of existing ones,
all familiar to most of us.

END of FIRST PART

GLOW WORM SIGHTING. On 21st June 1978 Mr Robert W. Smith, M.A., counted five glow worms on the road verge near Auchendrain. Lampyris noctiluca is rather uncommon in our area. Mrs Hooton has seen them at Kilmory Knap; and outwith Mid-Argyll the Editor found a colony on Loch Eck-side and Mr Jex-Long knew them beside Loch Long.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORICAL ECOLOGY OF NORTH KNAPDALE

Leslie Rymer

IV. Population Change

In trying to examine the ways in which man has altered the landscape there is a need to study man. This might seem obvious, but many changes in pollen diagrams are said to be changes in vegetation caused by man when there is no evidence either that man was in the area at the time the change took place, or that, if he were present, his numbers were sufficient, given the technology available to him, to have caused the change. For this reason I have decided to give a brief account of the population history of North Knapdale before going on to discuss the post-glacial vegetation history of the parish.

Population growth itself is a major causal factor of ecological significance. As population density increases food production has to become more efficient in terms of production per unit area, or new supplies of food for import have to be discovered. Moreover, increased population is likely to result in larger residence groups, and this leads to social organisation and differentiation. In turn, this may result in the more efficient deployment of available technology, so increasing man's ecological significance. Factors such as these were particularly important in the earlier history of the parish. Accounts of the population history of the parish up to Iron Age times were included in an earlier note (Kist 13). I suggested there that Neolithic settlements may not have been permanent. Nevertheless, small, even temporary, clearances of forest, and the introduction of alien animals at a stocking density higher than the natural population density of wild herbivores, will have initiated ecological changes. Above the direct effects brought about by woodland clearance, more subtle changes, such as produced by increased run-off, greater leaching, and soil erosion, may have begun about that time.

By Iron Age times the population had increased considerably, but there is no way to estimate accurate population figures. Nevertheless, the distribution of Duns suggests a population concentrated in the more fertile south and east areas of the parish, and consideration of the archaeological and field evidence shows that man was already

playing an important role in forming the present landscape. Although accurate information is not available, one can imagine a slow and irregular increase in population taking place between the beginning of Iron Age settlement and the eighteenth century. Mortality would have varied considerably as a result of wars, plundering expeditions, the vagaries of the fishing industry, and the weather. Famine was not infrequent even in the 18th century and sometimes affected the whole nation. In 1615 for example there was "...suche a continewing storme of froist, snaw, rayne and wind that the most part of the bestiall and goodis of the cuntrey are outhere deade or became so feeble and waik that they are not able any lang time to indure". A severe winter and late spring in the 1760s resulted in "...a third, an half and sometimes even a larger proportion of cattle upon a farm [perishing] for want of food", and in the Hebrides for example, every fourth year was "...almost entirely lost by the lateness of the harvest." Other times of dearth in Scotland occasioned by poor summers and hard winters are known from the 1590s, 1690s and 1780s.

Outbreaks of bubonic plague, cholera and smallpox resulted in high mortality. Inoculation against smallpox was first introduced into Scotland in 1763 and nearly every minister writing in the Old Statistical Account mentions the benefits which had accrued to his parish through the new technique. In North Knapdale before inoculation great numbers of children used to die of the smallpox.

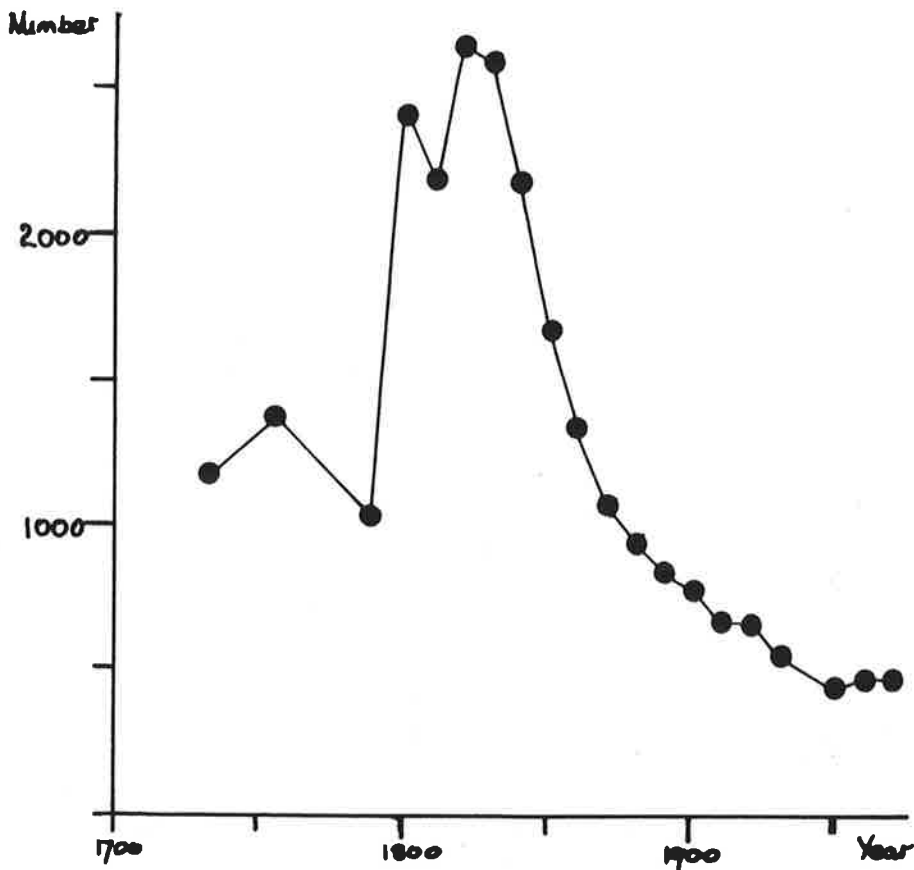
In the 18th century most of the population were sustained by the useful productivity of the parish. It seems likely that a largely subsistence type of economy had been in operation since Neolithic times. Import of food may have taken place under special conditions (e.g. with the garrisoning of Castle Sween, or through cattle raids) but in general the population cannot have exceeded that which could be sustained by the local agriculture. Any excess population must have emigrated, as in 1718 when a number of people left the parish for Inverness-shire.

Accurate population figures are available from almost the beginning of the 18th century. In 1692 there were 165 fencible men in the district of Knapdale, with 66 swords and 32 guns. Fencible men were those between 16 and 60 years old, and it was suggested by Walker that they made up one quarter of the population. In view of later est-

imates a total population of 660 for the whole of Knapdale would seem too low, and I have not used it.

In 1715 it was decided to divide Knapdale into two parishes. The "Decreet of Errection, Modification and Locality of Parishes of North and South Knapdale, 20 February, 1734" gives the number of examinable persons in North Knapdale as 1160. Children were catechisable from the age of 7, so that children below this age were excluded. As I have no information on which to base a correction of this figure, I have used it unchanged in Fig.1, which therefore exaggerates the population increase to 1755.

North Knapdale - Population changes 1734-1971



Webster's census of Scotland took place in 1755. The total population of the parish was then 1369, of whom 274 were fighting men. Walker's correction would lead to an underestimate of the population using these figures. The population for 1792 is taken from the Old Statistical Account. From 1801 the figures are taken from the official census reports. Population change up to the present day is shown in Fig.1

Between 1755 and 1792 the population decreased by 360, the decrease being occasioned by the uniting of several small farms into one larger. In some cases a single man was occupying ten tenements. According to the minister who wrote the parish entry in the Old Statistical Account this was because an increased price for cattle encouraged people to become graziers. The real explanation may lie not in an increase in cattle prices, but in a decrease. For example, in 1773 Major Donald Campbell of Castle Sween was informed that "...The rise of rents in this country, particularly of Grass Farms within these ten years past, and the late fall in the value of black cattle, left the bulk of the tenants upon a very precarious footing." A not unfamiliar story! This reduction in population was not general throughout the parish. In particular, the fertile Ross estates seem to have experienced an increase in population, presumably because tenants evicted from the north and east moved to the more prosperous west to become cottars. In 1791 Duncan Campbell of Ross wrote to Alexander MacNab at Ulva: "...The number of cothouses upon the estates of Danna, Ulva and Taynish surprize me very much; you must immediately give notice to the tenants to whom these Cottars pay rent that all the Cottars must remove at Whitsunday, else the tenants themselves will be removed. The measures taken with the subtenants of Barnashallag at an early period by ejecting them in virtue of an order of the Court of Session, even in the middle of Winter and Spring seasons cannot fail to satisfy all the tenants on the estate that they have no Authority to admit cottars and that they might all be ejected immediately save for feelings of Humanity."

Duncan Campbell was of opinion that his estates "abounded with more inhabitants than sufficient employ /could/ be had for, in cultivation of the ground or otherwise." In 1792 there were 632 people on his estate (63% of the total parish population) and 330 of these were under the

age of 16. This high proportion of children may have partly been a consequence of the recent introduction of inoculation.

In view of the more than doubling of the population between 1792 and 1801 there is need to emphasise that the maximum extent of cultivation on the Ross Estate had been reached sometime between 1750 and 1786. Areas shown as cultivations on the Ross Estate map of 1787 are exactly the same areas in which lazy beds can be found at the present day (based on field search and aerial photographs).

This sudden increase in the population is explained by the fact that work on the Crinan Canal began in 1793 and was not completed until 1801. "Strangers were attracted from distant parts of the country in quest of employment, and many of them settled in the parish and were included in the census of 1801".

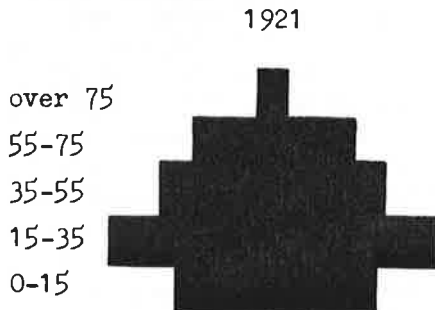
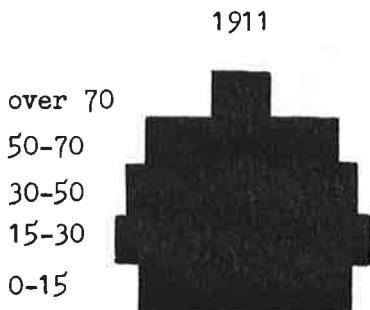
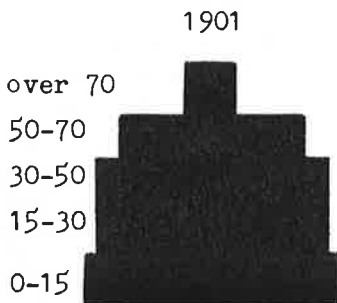
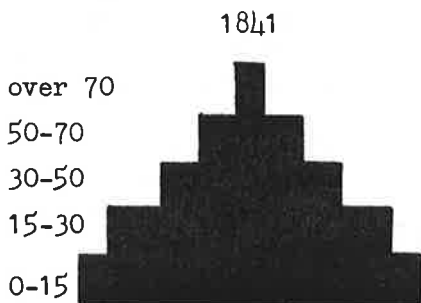
Although this new source of employment may have solved some of Duncan Campbell's problems, it presented him with another, of a different kind: inflation. On being told that £70,000 had been subscribed for the Canal and that work was to begin in the summer of 1793, he wrote to Alexander MacNab: "...this must, of course, raise the price of labour as well as of meal in our C^t. And as it is necessary for us to take provision as to both, I have to recommend it to you to receive meal from all of my tenants deposed to give the same in payment of their arrears at the current price of the Country untill all our Girnells are filled, and accept of the same as soon as it is practicable for them to deliver it. And at the same time endeavour to engage Malcolm Roy McLean, Donald McLean, Donald Campbell and his son Duncan Campbell to continue with me from a year Whity. First on their present terms in order we may not be at a loss for hands to carry on our works in the Spring and Summer season, and may have enough meal to feed them".

Although the initial stimulus for the immigration was the construction of the Canal, other factors were certainly involved, because the maximum population was not reached until 1812. The Canal opened up the area, and so facilitated trade. In addition Duncan Campbell had caused a carriage road to be built along the western shore of Loch Sween. As well as personally subscribing to the Crinan Canal he built a mill draw at Tavnish; a lime kiln on Danna; a school house; an addition to the church; and

several manufacturers' houses in Tayvallich, some of which went to "such of the Cottars as [were] Taylors, Shoemakers and Weavers or [had] any fixed trade" whom he had evicted in 1791. All these must have added to the prosperity of the area, as did the increased price of kelp brought about by the Napoleonic wars, because kelp manufacture provided a great deal of seasonal employment.

Even over the period of rapid population increase, emigration had still taken place. In July 1739 a "considerable number of people" sailed from North Knapdale to Cape Fear, North Carolina and others went to join Colonel John Campbell in Jamaica. One of the principal causes of depopulation between 1821 and 1841 was the emigration of a large number of families to Canada, while others left for Glasgow, Greenock and Paisley.

The age distribution of a population is an important characteristic because, affecting both natality and mortality, it describes the current reproductive status of the population and indicates what may be expected of the future in the absence of emigration or immigration. The data available for North Knapdale are shown below.



Despite emigration the 1841 population led to a situation in which fewer young people were supporting a greater proportion of old people. Once this age-distribution develops natality is reduced, and mortality is increased. In the absence of immigration, the population is bound to decline.

Many factors led to a decreasing population after 1812. The end of the Napoleonic wars resulted in a period of agricultural depression and led to a much reduced price for kelp. Sheep became increasingly important and the size of farm tended to increase. Changes in the tenurial system took place. Gailey has analysed the complete run of Ross Estate rental and totalled the number of tenancies each year to produce a tenancy graph. It shows a halving of the number of tenancies between 1840 and 1860, and this seems to be associated with the abolition of both multiple tenancy farms and the runrig cultivation system. Over the same period Crinan Harbour seems to have declined as a fishing port and in 1849 the potato blight epidemic reached the parish. Colonel J.D.B. Elphinstone tried to relieve the distress of his tenants by causing extra march walls to be built in Glen Sabhail (north of Tayvallich). During the second half of the 19th century there were several outbreaks of cholera. But above all there was the industrial expansion of Glasgow and the prospect of better wages for those who left.

The decline in population has continued almost to the present day. A multitude of factors, both social and economic, seem involved. The number of farms does not seem to have changed greatly. In 1792 there were 61 tenements. In 1867 some 42 people held both acreage and livestock. By 1900 the number had risen to 83, despite the falling population. In 1935 it had fallen back to 62. In 1955 there were 50 farms and 10 crofts in the parish. But, because of increased mechanisation, the predominantly pastoral agriculture now practised, and perhaps because of and beginning with the agricultural depression of the twenties and thirties, the amount of labour required on each farm is considerably reduced. In the 18th century almost the whole population was employed, in one way or another, on the land. But in 1930 there were only 79 regular workers (apart from tenants and owners) on the farms in the parish, and by 1965 this had

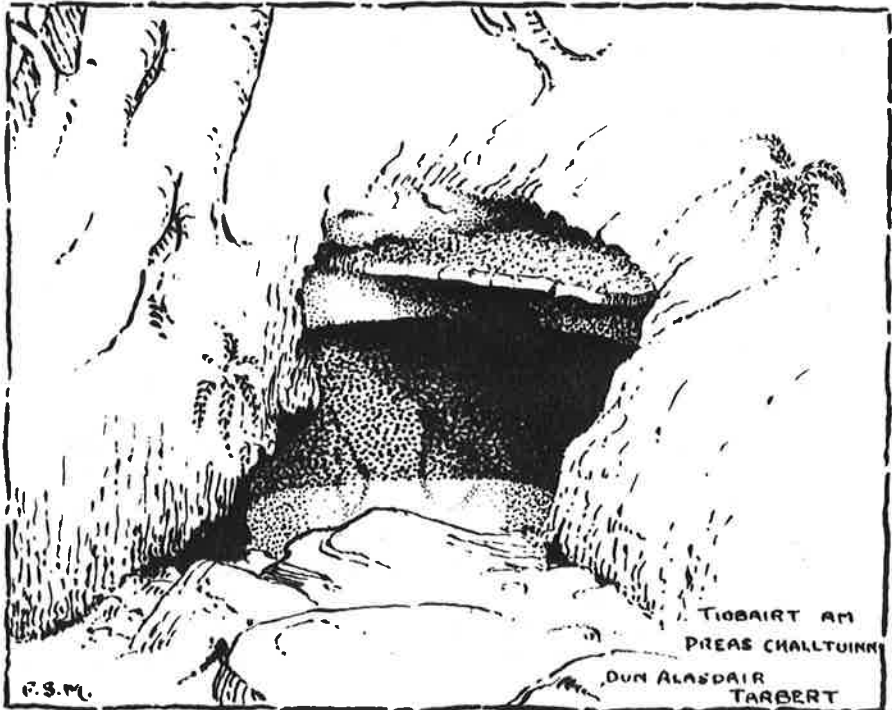
fallen to 10. The planting of Knapdale Forest by the Forestry Commission, beginning in 1930, reduced the area available for agriculture but did provide a new source of employment.

Hill farming seems to be going into decline but the tourist industry is becoming ever more important and several farms now have permanent caravan and camping sites. Bed and breakfast establishments are becoming increasingly common and it would seem that the proportion of second homes in the parish is increasing. The long-term effects of these changes on the population are going to depend upon the prevailing economic climate, but it would seem likely that better employment prospects offered by the booming home tourist industry might, in the absence of controls, lead to an upturn of the population curve.

Acknowledgment: I would like to thank Dr John Lorne Campbell for allowing me to use the Inverneill Estate papers.

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View of the re-discovered Tarbert well. (see Kist 15)



CLAN CAMPBELL HERALDRY

Sir Ilay Campbell of Succoth, Bart.

The Science of Heraldry in origin and essence deals with identification. From earliest times it has been the custom of warriors in armour to adorn their shields with symbols, clearly recognisable at a distance, to strike fear to the heart of the enemy and, at the same time, protect the bearer from a, perhaps irreparable, mistake on the part of allies, who might fail to recognise him in his warlike panoply.

Until the 13th century, however, the designs decorating the shield were the personal choice of the individual, and only gradually did the custom grow up for a proud son adopting the device borne by his father, thus giving birth to the hereditary heraldry, or more correctly, armory, familiar to us today. Certainly by the middle of that century a system had evolved throughout Europe, whereby the 'charges' borne upon a knight's shield were accepted as family property and passed as such from father to son. During the following century arrangements evolved for the legal protection of bearers of arms, with sanctions against their unlawful assumption, and thus it was that the shield or 'escutcheon' became, and is still, the most important, indeed the only essential, part of any heraldic 'achievement'. Crests, mantling, mottoes, supporters etc came later, and nothing annoys the heraldic purist more than hearing a shield of arms described as a crest!

The great feudal lords, before the end of the 13th century, had already started representing their shields on the seals with which they 'signed' their charters, but it was the mediaeval love of jousting that took heraldry a stage further on its way. Each knight, in addition to displaying his arms, would adopt as a further means of identification, crests, often representing an animal. These were normally made of boiled and moulded leather, and were attached to the helmet by means of a length of twisted cloth. From below this hung a cloak, probably in the principal colours of the charges on the owner's shield and sometimes decorated with its 'charges', derived from the short cape which, for purely practical reasons, was worn by armoured knights in hot climates to protect them from the heat of the sun. This became stylised as

the 'mantling' which, in representations of armorial bearings, flows in elaborate scrolls from the crest, framing the shield.

Supporters owe their origin, perhaps, to the fanciful animals which seal engravers sometimes introduced to fill the gaps between the shield and the circumference of the seal. Only much later did they evolve into symbols of rank.

Mottoes are of even more recent origin and, though they are now usually granted as part of an heraldic achievement, there is still no reason why an individual should not display any tag of his choice on the scrolls above or below his shield.

As heraldry developed well before the days of 'Women's Lib' it was not considered appropriate for ladies, who normally took no active part in warfare, to bear their arms on a shield, but rather on a 'lozenge' or diamond shape which, perhaps, derives from the spindle, spinning being the proper occupation for womenfolk! Neither can ladies, with the exception of certain female clan chiefs, bear a crest, as they would not wear a helmet to which to attach it.

Heraldry in different parts of Europe evolved in different ways, and the Highlands of Scotland were no exception. Sir Iain Moncrieffe of that ilk in his book 'The Highland Clans' expands on the social development of the Highlands in an admirably concise and vastly readable manner. No one who seeks to understand the very distinct influences which set the Highlander apart from other denizens of the British Isles, should neglect to read it. Sir Iain explains the deistic tradition of the various race lines making up the Highland Clans, Norse and Celtic folk memories mingling through interbreeding, and influencing every aspect of Highland life and culture. It is too vast a subject to be touched on here, but it has its effect on Highland heraldry.

Long before formal heraldry began, the Highland races had their 'totems', symbolising the deities from whom they believed they were descended; the lion, the galley, the salmon, the boar, the hand - all of which appear again and again in Highland heraldry, are some of these. Even where these totems do not appear in the clan heraldry, they tend to pop up in unexpected places. The sacred salmon of the Gaels, for instance, which adorns the arms of the chiefs of such clans as MacDonalld of the Isles and of Clanranald,

MacLachlan, MacLean, MacNeil of Colonsay and MacQuarrie, has no place in Campbell heraldry, but is displayed in the form of silver salmon buttons on the doublet worn by Mac-Caillein Mór when in evening dress.

No one knows the origin of the Campbell arms gyronny of eight or and sable, the shield being divided into eight segments, alternately gold and black, but it first appears on the seal of Sir Neil Campbell who died prior to 1316. In 1871 a book called 'The House of Argyll and the Collateral Branches of Clan Campbell' appeared, which, in featuring a highly colourful version of the Campbell's Arthurian descent, tells the story of how Gillocallum or Malcolm O'Dwihne (sic) went to France, where he married the heiress of the Beauchamp family, niece to the Duke of Normandy, and adopted their coat of arms, 'a shield cut in eight pieces, as an emblem of the shield having been hacked and slashed in so many engagements'! He also took her name translated into 'dog' Latin, as Campus Bellus!

All this must be taken with a pinch of salt, as Malcolm and his Beauchamp bride are supposed to have been the parents of Gillespic, the first recorded Campbell, who married Eva, the MacSporran heiress, and must therefore have flourished at the very beginning of the 12th century, long before the dawn of heraldry.

The gyronny forms the basis, with due 'differences', of the arms of all branches of Clan Campbell. Normally it is or and sable, but in the case of the House of Loudon and its cadets, it is ermine and gules, to commemorate the marriage, early in the 14th century, of Sir Colin Campbell to Susannah Crawford of Loudon, who brought that great feudal barony to the Campbells, the Crawford arms being gules a fesse ermine.

Another variant was that adopted by the Campbells of Otter, gyronny of eight ermine and sable; Otter is said to descend from a younger son of Thomas, 2nd son of Colin, 1st Earl of Argyll, but there seems no obvious reason for the choice of tinctures.

The arms which appear in the second and third quarters of the Chief's coat of arms are blazoned argent a galley sable. These first appear on the seal of Archibald, 2nd Earl, in 1495, and are those of the ancient Lordship of Lorn, his mother having been Elizabeth Stewart, daughter and co-heiress of John, Lord of Lorn, who was murdered in

1463. Her sister, Janet, was the wife of Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, which is why the galley, along with the Stewart fesse chequy, is also quartered by the Earls of Breadalbane. The galley is a very ancient Norse royal 'totem' and can be found incorporated in the heraldry of most of the clans descended from Olaf, King of Man and the Isles, who was killed in 1153. Sir Iain Moncrieffe remarks that it is also a symbol of the Sinclairs and Gunns of Caithness, again of Royal Norse descent.

The crest of the House of Argyll is a boar's head, another symbol of great antiquity pertaining to the Dalriadic Celts, who settled in Argyll from Ireland at the close of the 5th century. It is carved in the rock on the hill of Dunadd near Lochgilphead, once the centre of the Kingdom of Dalriada, and inauguration place of the early Kings of Argyll. While many branches of Clan Campbell also use the boar's head crest, others have totally different ones. Cawdor adopted the swan crest of the Calders of that ilk, Succoth has a camel's head (presumably a pun), Glenfeochan a blue goat with golden hooves, holding a sprig of ivy in its mouth, and Auchinbreck a hand holding a spur.

As no one but the chief of the clan may bear his undifferenced arms, (though all clansmen may, as a mark of adherence, wear his crest surrounded by a buckled belt bearing his motto), cadet branches of Clan Campbell have adopted variations on the theme. Some, such as Cawdor and Glenorchy, by quartering the arms of other families from whom they have inherited lands; some by including in their arms other 'totems' such as Lochnell, which quarters the boar's head, or Glenfeochan, which has a boar's head in the first gyron and a salmon in the fifth. Succoth has the gyronny 'engrailed', i.e. with scalloped dividing lines, Ardkinglas surrounds the gyronny with a golden 'bordure', while Inverawe's blue bordure is wavy and contains eight salmon to symbolise the River Awe which runs through their lands. Younger branches of such cadets have again altered these already differenced arms. In 1772, for instance, Colin Campbell of Park, a successful West Indian merchant, descended through the Campbells of Kinloch from the House of Glenorchy, recorded arms at Lyon Office gyronny of eight or and sable within a bordure engrailed azure charged with eight buckles of the first (or). The related families of Possil and Colgrain, in 1809 and 1861, matriculated

differenced variations.

In theory, therefore, it should be possible to see, at a glance at his coat of arms, to which branch of the family any particular Campbell belongs. Alas, this is not invariably the case. When in 1946 Colin Frederick Campbell of the Colgrain family, was raised to the peerage as Lord Colgrain, he was granted arms by the College of Heralds in London which, sadly, bear little relation to the arms of his paternal forebears.

In Scotland no one has the right to bear arms unless these have been granted by the Lord Lyon King of Arms, and such arms, once granted, can only be borne by the grantee and the successive heads of the house thus established. No younger son or their descendants are entitled to assume these arms, but must matriculate them anew with due 'difference', in their own names. The Lord Lyon, as the Queen's Officer of Arms, may prosecute those who use arms without due authority.

The Law has, however, never been strictly adhered to, particularly so in the Highlands, where distance from Edinburgh, conflicting loyalties and the sturdy independence of the Highland character combined to make Highland families somewhat contemptuous of the edicts of Lowland-based lawyers. Thus many Campbell cadet branches have, for centuries, borne arms without authority. None the less such arms have been generally, though unofficially, recognised, and those who bore them considered themselves no whit less armigerous than their neighbours with a piece of painted parchment as proof.

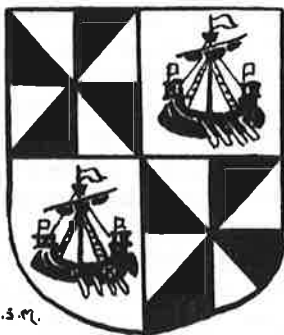
This has, from time to time, given rise to unusual heraldic practices. A case in point is the House of Craignish which, until a recent matriculation rectified the situation, had borne for at least four centuries the undifferenced gyronny, but with the shield suspended from the rigging of a galley. This may have had its origins in an early seal of the family, showing the shield so placed to indicate, perhaps, that Craignish was held from the Lord of Lorn. To some extent the practice was tacitly recognised when, in 1875, Duncan Campbell of Inverneill and Ross, descended from Craignish, matriculated arms, with a bordure azure for difference, the shield being placed in front of the Craignish galley.

With regard to Mottoes, one custom peculiar to High-

land families has developed, where the mottoes adopted by cadet branches of the clan either answer that of the chief, or echo its sentiments in different words. For instance, Cawdor echoes MacCailein Mór's 'Ne obliviscaris' (Do not forget) with 'Be mindful', while Asknish replies 'Nunquam obliviscar' (I will never forget).

Finally it would not be out of place here to say a word about plant badges, which have no connection with armory, but in that members of each Highland clan wear with pride its distinctive badge in their bonnets, they may be considered akin to heraldry. Sir Iain Moncrieffe points out that the idea of a sacred plant is very ancient, going back to the dawn of religion of the New Stone Age, and indeed many of the plants adopted as badges have healing properties. A clansman wearing the badge felt himself 'under protection'. The Campbells' badge is Bog Myrtle, myrica gale, a small aromatic shrub of the West Highland moorlands, though some Campbells prefer Fir Club Moss, lycopodium sedago, which flourishes in similar conditions.

In so short a space it has been impossible to do more than skim the surface of a vast and complex subject, but it is hoped that these few notes may, if nothing else, whet the appetite for further research into a totally fascinating and absorbing study.



F.S.M.

Quarterly: 1st and 4th, gyronny of eight or and sable (Campbell): 2nd and 3rd, argent, a lymphad, sails furled, pennons flying, and oars in action sable (Lorne).

The Duke of Argyll

OLD HUGH AND HIS KINGDOM

Mary Sandeman

Old Hugh was everyone's friend and I was his shadow. He was the 'Orraman' at the farm. He worked from dawn to dark and was always cheerful, although one might wonder what he had to be cheerful about. He was small and very lame, but with rosy, rosy cheeks and twinkling eyes as blue as an April sky. He wore, on weekdays, boots, thick cloth trousers, a raggy old tweed coat, a grey flannel shirt without a collar, and a cloth cap, usually with a hole in the crown - rats had made a nest in a pile of them in the store and he had been given them. In bad weather he had a rather torn black oilskin tied at the waist with a bit of stack rope, and on very wet days a sack over his head and shoulders. Willie the ploughman wore one too, as did anyone with any sense. You pushed one corner into the other and wore it like a pixie hood; it shed the water well down your back and left your arms free. He had all his meals in the farm kitchen but lived in a very sparsely furnished two-roomed house - just a bed, table, two chairs, a kist and a rug by the fire - always a good fire. His house was his castle for all that. I caused a sensation amongst the womenfolk by taking down the lace screens from his windows, washing, starching and ironing them (with a little help) and putting them up again without a murmur from him; they would never have dared to do such a thing.

Old Hugh kept the farm garden, which lay to the south of the stackyard and just across the road from ours. If I stood on our wall I could see into his garden but the gate was too high for me to open and anyway I knew, just knew, that it was holy ground and not for me. I could, however, get into the stackyard and converse with him over the fence. Hour after sunny hour I jabbered away, outdoing the yellow-hammers and chaffinches (but I never could see why people called me "chatter box"), while he hoed his turnips and thinned his carrots. Everyone passing on the road stopped to speak to Old Hugh; he had not very much English and the little Gaelic I know comes from these conversations. I am told by those who know that he was always addressed in the honorific form and even in English he was always referred to as "Old" Hugh, 'tho' he can't have been very old at that time.

I liked it best when he (we) were working about the steading. Once the cows had been put out after the morning milking and the horses were away to their work, the steading was Hugh's kingdom.

The steading was a slated stone building forming three sides of an oblong, its open end facing roughly north towards the farm house and downhill so that the yard was dry and tidy - Hugh saw to that.

Starting at the west arm, which was slightly longer than the other, there was an open-ended cart shed where the swallows nested, peeping over their cup nests on the rafters. It had a broad cobbled apron in front of it which we kept clear of weeds, using an old kitchen fork and a knife; I've never found any better tool for cobbles. No one used weedkiller of course. No horse would slip when backing in a cart while we were on the job.

Next came the stable with three or four stalls, decorated with red, blue and yellow prize tickets, and a loose-box which was kept for the Laird's pony when it came down for the mails or other things, driven usually by John, who I thought much grander than the Laird, quite magnificent in fact. He wore a sort of top hat with a cockade and a plum coloured driving coat. I referred to him as "John the Master of the Horse" which caused some amusement; evidently they thought it should have been the other way round. I thought he was very important, and he was very kind. The door, which was rather narrow, had a push-in sneck so that there was nothing to catch on harness; it had two shallow cobbled steps in front of it which the horses thought nothing of but when Willie was making a young horse he used to put his jacket over its head when he led it out; going in was no problem. To the right of the door there were pegs for harness and saddles, and to the left a window to the yard with a bench under it with saddle soap and oils with beautiful smells. Beyond that was a ladder going up to a small platform and opening into the barn. There was a platform on the barn side too so that hay and straw could be forked straight from the barn into the stable. I loved the smell of the stable and when, rubbing my face against my father's tweeds, I said "Daddy you smell of stables and that material" I meant it as a great compliment even if they all laughed - really these grownups.

You got into the barn from the yard through a wooden

half-door. It opened in two halves, the top half had a metal sneck but to open the lower part you had to lean over and shoot back the big wooden sneck. With the top open there was lots of light and air but animals were kept out. This door was almost in the angle of the building and there was another half-door opposite it opening into the stack-yard. When these doors were both open there was a good through draught, so one could have winnowed there but we never did. The end of the barn to the right of the yard door was piled high with hay and corn after harvest - lovely to climb on but this was frowned upon. To the left of this door stood barrels of black treacle and several stone-built vats for storing feed - bran, maize, and threshed corn.

Opposite them stood the threshing machine and between them was the door into the byre.

On the right as you entered the byre the stalls ran right to the end on that side, each with its hay-heck and manger and silvery chain kept oiled and bright by the cows' necks. On the left there was first the calving pen with a little calf pen opening out of it so that the calf could be taken from the cow but she could still see it and even nuzzle it if she liked. Then about three stalls and then the door into the yard and more stalls nearly to the end of that wall leaving enough room for a passageway to the big calf pen. The herd leader always had the stall to the left of the door and the next senior was in the one to the right as they entered, and woe betide any upstart who thought she would take the place of either of them. There were steps up to this door too but naturally this did not worry the cows. A centre walk with drains on both sides ran the whole length of the byre to a half-door at the end opening on to the midden, which was in a hollow well below. When this door stood open in the summer and the long ventilation shafts between the stalls had their hay stuffing removed, the byre, which was whitewashed, was a nice airy sunny place.

The calf pen had a half-door to the yard and the one to the byre; the calves were guided gently from here up the byre on their long wambly legs to 'finish' their mothers after milking.

Next - we are now opposite the stable door on the other side of the yard - came the stirk house with hecks all round three sides and a half-door to the yard. It was deep in dry bracken in winter. Next again was the bull

house, a good bit smaller than the stirk house with the same kind of door.

Against the gable of the bull's house Hugh built the peatstack. Our peats were long and thin and he built it so evenly, with the ends outwards of course, that its surface seemed quite smooth, beautifully corbelled so that it looked like a gigantic beehive reaching well above the eaves of the building.

From the midden door of the byre a flagged walk ran along the outside of the stirk house to the pig styes set at right angles - two styes under a slated lean-to roof, each with its own run or outer sty. Their walls were topped with smooth flags. As they faced south it was a very good place to sit; many happy hours I spent there talking to the pigs - very conversable things pigs, with a great range of grunts and squeaks, and they do love company and having their backs scratched with a stick. I used to feed them cinders which they crunched with gusto, their little knowing eyes half closed by long pink eyelashes. Old Hugh loved his "Bonny Wee Pigs". They stayed "Bonny Wee Pigs" all their days until the awful day when, still bonny but far from wee, they went squealing away. Old Hugh's blue eyes were a wee bit misty and we threw ourselves into our work in silent unspoken understanding of our shared distress. There was no room for sentiment but that didn't mean that devotion or affection were absent. Soon there would be more "Bonny" and really "Wee" pigs in the styes to claim both.

We mucked out the byre each day, picking clear the criss-cross patterns on the centre walk with a stick and giving it a good scrub with a stable brush and water; sometimes we even did a few patterns with pipeclay - because? well just because; if you dont ask silly questions you wont get crooked answers. The main thing was to make certain that no man or calf or cow would slip. Then we sluiced out the drains into the midden.

If I could get down to the morning milking there would be a bowl of porridge with warm frothy milk afterwards. Now at home I did not like porridge and I hated horn spoons too but somehow in a bowl with roses and blue ribbons on it and the milk in a cup, eaten with Old Hugh and Willie in the farm kitchen it was quite different. The evening milking, especially in the winter, was best of all. It was

so peaceful and warm with the cows contentedly munching and the milk hissing into the pails and the soft light from the stable lanterns hung on the rafters. There would often be two or three men and a woman milking, each seated on a three-legged stool.

After mucking the byre we fed the calves, dipping our fingers into the pail and giving them to the calves to suck while we crooned "Thalla seo, suchi-bheag, laochan, laochan!" and gently led the pink nose into the pail; once there the calf got on with it in fine style - it was all I could do to hold the pail.

We 'did' the potatoes by pouring a bucketful into a wooden tub of water and stirring them furiously with a stick. We changed the water once or twice and then took them in to the kitchen to be finished.

Old Hugh helped with the churning too. It was a big staff churn. I couldn't reach the staff so all I did was to bounce my ball on the kitchen flags while the old lady taught me "Bee Baw Babbity" and "One two three a leary"; a great help the two of us must have been. As soon as the butter started to come the women took over and we went to feed the cats. Wild green eyes on the byre rafters who thought little of me. Old Hugh used all the Gaelic blandishments but they would not come down while I was there.

The stable belonged to Willie and the bull and stirk houses to the cowman - we took no notice of them.

Before the harvest we cut the docks and nettles in the stackyard with an old pair of sheep shears and a sickle. Old Hugh knew all about soothing my stung legs with docken leaves. It took a lot of time but there seemed to be an unlimited supply of that.

On Sundays when we came out of Church there was Old Hugh waiting to go in to the Gaelic service, beaming as usual and very smart in his neat blue suit, his boots vying with his shining rosy face. Tucked into his jacket was a scarf that I had knitted for him. It was khaki in colour and started six inches wide and ended more than twice that, as is apt to happen when you have just learnt to knit. It was the first thing I had made larger than a garter, unless you count dishcloths which you don't. I was a bit disconcerted to find it being worn to the Kirk as I had meant it for work days, but very proud. A charm-

ing gesture to a very small girl from a very fine gentleman.

I was almost grown up when one blustery Christmas morning our dear friend was found fallen dead by his fire. If the cows lowed that Christmas Eve for the Christchild, as some say they do, perhaps they lowed for Old Hugh too. Each Christmas morn I remember Old Hugh who taught me so much, but to remember Old Hugh is to have roses in December.

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EXTRACTS FROM 'OLD KILBERRY'S' DIARIES

Second Series, Pt.2

The Coal Steamer Saga

1894. 11th January; Thursday.

A steamer came with coals but there was too much swell and she had to go away again which was just as well as all the people were tired after the Ball.

14th January; Sunday.

The coal steamer came and anchored in the bay in the afternoon.

15th January; Monday.

The coal steamer had disappeared when the men went down in the morning. If she had remained we could have worked away during the forenoon.

18th January; Thursday.

The coal steamer came about 9.30 and they were able to work till about 3.30 when the breeze, WNW, which had been getting stronger all day got too strong. There was a good bit of sea on after 11 o'clock but they worked away. We ran it very close as we had only $2\frac{1}{2}$ carts of coal left and everybody has been on short allowance lately. This cargo costs 15/9 here. 10/9 in Glasgow and 5/- freight.

22nd January; Monday.

Stiff breeze from westward. The coal steamer did not come.

23rd January; Tuesday.

Stiff NW. Coal steamer arrived in the morning and the men went to the shore but could not work. It took off a bit in the afternoon and they began work about 2 pm. and continued till after dark when the breeze got up and they had

to stop. If it had kept calm enough they were to have gone on as the moon rose after 7.

24th January; Wednesday.

Blowing hard from SW. Steamer could not come to land coal.

2nd February; Friday.

In the evening the skipper of the coal steamer Morag Glen which is still detained by stormy weather at Ardpatrik and unable to land my coal came over to shew me a telegram from his owner saying that he ought to be clear now as the weather was fine in Glasgow. They also told him in it to apply to me for money which he wanted but I declined to give him any as the owners Messrs J.G.Frew & Co have been bothering me with letters threatening me with claim for demurrage and I have nothing to do with them. My bargain is with D.Cowan & Co who agreed to deliver the coal to me here at 15/9 per ton. I have explained this to Frew but they continue to pester me with letters, so I cannot enter into any dealings with them or with their captain.

5th February; Monday.

In the morning there was not much wind. The coal steamer arrived at 9.30 and just then the wind came on from WSW. The men went to the shore but could do nothing as the sea got up very fast. They waited there till 1 pm when the steamer went away. The steamer did not come into the bay but anchored well outside the line of the points.

7th February; Wednesday.

The coal steamer was lying at the head of W.Loch Tarbert and in Tarbert I met a man from the office of the owners who came to speak to me about some arrangement for getting the vessel cleared elsewhere than at Kilberry. Referred him to D.Cowan & Co with whom, and with whom alone, I have a bargain about the cargo.

8th February; Thursday.

Heard yesterday evening the coal steamer came round to Kilberry about 5 pm and turned back to Loch Tarbert - evidently to shew the coast to the man whom I saw in Tarbert yesterday. She was lying at the head of the loch today.

12th February; Monday.

About 1.30 am we had the worst of the gale. Wild all day. The S.S.Morag Glen which has been hanging on about West

Loch Tarbert with coal for me, went ashore at Corran spit opposite Ardpatrik last night. She had given up all idea of landing the rest of the cargo and was going to Ireland with it I believe. Finished weighing what I got ashore from her (31 tons, 18 cwt, 3 qrs).

Four Years Later, still having trouble with coal, Ed.

1898. 11th November.

....a cargo of about 110 tons of coal was landed.... the cargo was weighed as it came ashore and proved to be over 9 tons short weight, so there is rascality somewhere. Carruthers has often suspected that the cargoes were short of weight but we have now put up a weighbridge at the Coal Ree.

TO BE CONTINUED

THE BRIDGE ON OUR COVER is little known although sited close to the public road. A completely inaccurate note in PSAS 1908-9, p275, was the only reference located until Mr James Livingstone, Seafield, Achnamara, to whom we are much indebted, informed us that he possessed a book published in 1830, on the local antiquities, by Archd. Currie. Here at last were definite clues which put one on the path towards further discoveries.

About 1684 John Macilebhearnaig, laird of Oib Greim and Ardnakaig, scandalised the Church and was ordered to build a bridge over the Barnagad Burn at Achnamara to facilitate the passage of worshippers to Kilmichael of Inverlussa. It is formed of two slabs supported on three piers. They measure 13'3" and 10'5"; the average thickness is 4" and maximum width 2'9"; the piers are 4'6" wide and rise to just under 4'. Each slab has a 3½" circular hole near its northern end, the popular interpretation being that this was to assist in the moving and placing of the spans.

Mr Livingstone says that there were formerly two smaller one-span bridges near his house; and it is known that an unsuspected larger example at Dun Rostan, farther down the loch, was inadvertently removed some 12 years ago in making the present road bridge.

Miss Campbell of Kilberry informs us that the name Macilebhearnaig (Son of the Servant of Marnoc) became Graham when the original meaning was forgotten; the steps were : Mheirneig - Bearnag (a bite) - Greim (a mouthful).